*192 200. Mirror — unamari. (This is apparently a Carib word.)
[276] 201. Cigar — tamõi-koneasa' (literally "tobacco- (that has been) made").
202. *Pipe (for tobacco) — kachimba. This is the local Spanish "cachimba" — the pipe is not native to the Kamarakotos.
● [407] 203. *Cane-press — tərabichi, tərapichi. This is the local Spanish "trapiche."
204. *Gold-pan (hewn of wood) — watea. This is the local Spanish "batea."
*192 205. *Ax (steel) — waka. Taurepán, waka. Although this and the following two implements are, of course, imported, their names appear to be native.
*197
412
439 206. *Knife (steel) — marisa. Taurepán, tawora. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) malia (i.e., maria). Makuchi (Williams) a-tau-wa-ra. Galibi and six other scattered dialects (de Goeje) maria.[54]
207. *Machete (steel) — kutsupara. Taurepán, kasupara.[54]

*192 h. Houses, etc.
*197
342 208. *House in general, roofed structure — tapüi. Taurepán, õuta, but according to Koch-Grünberg the Taurepánes call a shelter-hut (in the forest) tapoi (or tapəi). Makuchi (Williams) u-tə', "house," u-y-e-wu, "my house," ta-pui "small shed." Most Carib dialects use a variation of the õuta-utə root for "house" and apply the tapui root, if they use it, to a small hut, see, e.g., Adam No. 142, but the Kamarakotos call structures tapüi that are õuta (etc.) to other Caribs. There is also a root for "house" of the type muna, mouta, motu, etc., see de Goeje No. 45, which is probably -mota of the Kamarakotos (see No. 267).
*192 209. House with walls — tapüi-timeakɛn.
342 210. Quadrangular house — wata. (For words usually used in allied dialects are parapan, below.)
211. — with walls — wata-timeakɛn.
212. — without walls — wata-imedapün.
213. *Quadrangular house hermetically sealed with mud — kalaboso. This is the Spanish "calabozo," "jail." The Kamarakoto kalaboso is used to escape insects and not as a place of confinement. I am not sure how general is the use of this word but it was heard from at least one Indian who did not speak Spanish.

54 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

343

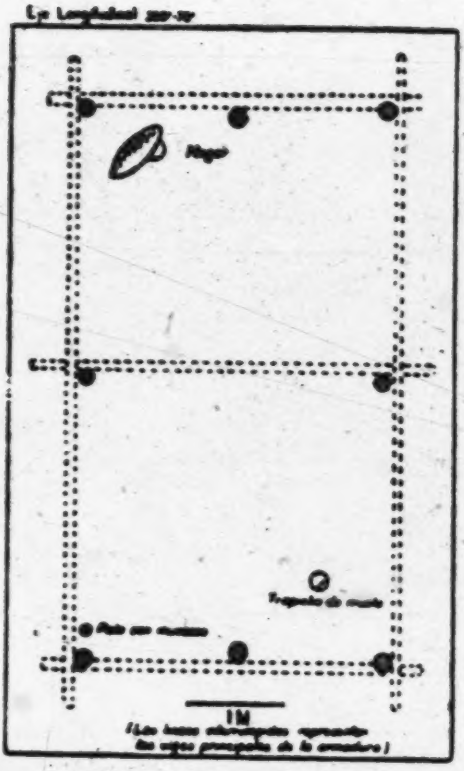

Fig. 2 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Building G at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a wata-imedapun. Ground plan, showing the eight uprights and (in broken lines) the frame beams. The fixtures include a fire hole, dug in the ground, a cane press, and a forked upright for a casave press.

[354] [355] 252

342 Both these types of structures serve the same purpose. They are the homes, properly speaking, where the household goods are stored, where most of the meals are prepared and eaten, and where the family sleeps.

343 Near the dwelling there is usually built a simple quadrangular structure with open sides and a ridged roof. This serves as a sort of work room. It

almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakɛn, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabɔzo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyɛ? being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[2] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarɛ, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarɛ, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarɛ, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarɛ. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
119a

Fig. 5 – Kamarakoto Work Shelter.

Same building as Figs. 2-4. Photograph of northeast end (see Fig. 4A). The cane-press can be seen inside to the left. This building had not been used for some weeks and the ground would be free of vegetation if it were in current use.

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still [177] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any combread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the 273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash 171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122] 263 The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco, 407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian, 171 especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[126] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an introduced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes [NH] is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign 407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and [401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice.

122, 123 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]

273 or flavored by other ingredients. The generic name for the beverages thus prepared in the simplest way is kachiri, which is usually based on a mash of casave and of which there are varieties arising from the addition or substitution of other ingredients. Grated sweet potato (Ipomea) is added to one of the commonest varieties, giving it a reddish color.

Paiba, usually distinguished from kachiri, proper, is made of cooked (overcooked or burned) casave which is wrapped in leaves and left to ferment until black, after which it is broken up, soaked in warm water, and fermented. This is dark in color and is sometimes called "black Kachiri."

Parakari is made of cooked casave, like paiba, (but less heavily cooked). This is soaked in water and then wrapped in leaves for some time before being mashed and fermented but it does not turn black.

272
273
● 407

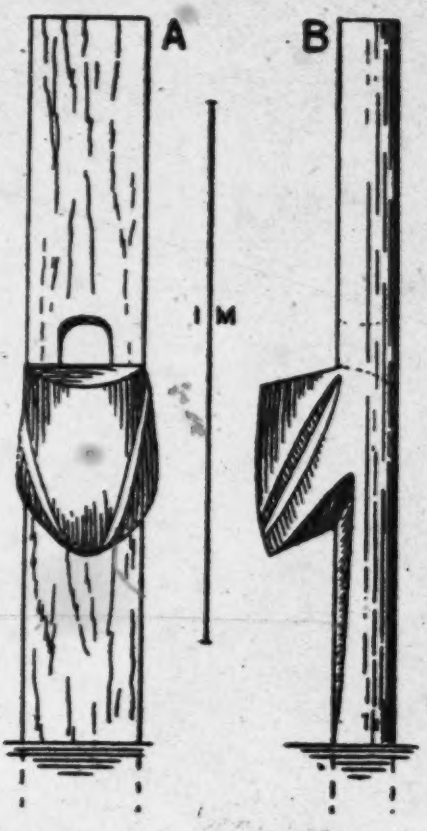

Fig. 26 — Kamarakoto Cane Press.
A. front view. B. side view.

226 824 114 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves innumerable doubtful points.

226 271 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 263 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 177 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 401 407 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 123 124 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 531 415 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently explained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
409

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
199 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

[1] [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
[2] [i.e. chickens - Analyst]
[3] [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
[4] [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]